

Message Text

SECRET

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TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINR,PINT, GW, GE, WB, UR

SUBJECT: BONN GROUP BRIEFING ON BERLIN ASPECT OF SECRETARY
VANCE'S MOSCOW VISIT

1. FOLLOWING IS MATERIAL FOR USE BY US REPRESENTATIVE FOR
BRIEFING OF THE BONN GROUP ON SECRETARY VANCE'S DISCUSSION
WITH GROMYKO ON BERLIN DURING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO
MOSCOW.

2. GROMYKO BEGAN THE DISCUSSION BY STATING THAT THE
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QA ON WEST BERLIN HAD BEEN WELL RECEIVED IN HIS COUNTRY.
IT HAD CREATED POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF DETENTE IN EUROPEAN
AFFAIRS, PARTICULARLY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IT HAD BECOME
CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WERE CIRCLES IN
WEST GERMANY THAT WISHED TO NULLIFY THE ACCORD ON WEST
BERLIN. FOR EXAMPLE, WEST GERMAN AND WEST BERLIN
AUTHORITIES ACTED AS IF WEST BERLIN WERE SOME "LAND"

OF THE FRG. IN FACT, THERE WAS LEGISLATION ADOPTED IN WHICH WEST BERLIN WAS DIRECTLY REFERRED TO AS A "LAND". THE SOVIETS HAD PROTESTED AGAINST THIS. THEY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT ANY SIDE HAD ANYTHING TO GAIN FROM SUCH A STATE OF AFFAIRS.

3. GROMYKO THEN REFERRED TO THE EC PROBLEM. HE SAID HE HAD WITH HIM A CERTIFICATE ISSUED BY THE EC WHICH REGULATED EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS ON THE SOVEREIGN TERRITORY OF THE FRG, INCLUDING LAND BERLIN, DATED OCTOBER 15, 1968. THIS WAS A TRAVESTY ON THE QA. MOREOVER, GROMYKO ASKED HOW MANY FRG INSTITUTIONS OR ORGANIZATIONS HAD ESTABLISHED UNLAWFUL OFFICES IN WEST BERLIN. GROMYKO SAID THE SOVIETS HAD DRAWN THE ATTENTION OF THE US GOVERNMENT TO THIS SITUATION MORE THAN ONCE, BUT SO FAR WITHOUT ANY RESULT. IF THE SECRETARY WISHED TO SAY THAT THIS HAD ALL OCCURRED BEFORE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAD TAKEN OFFICE, GROMYKO WOULD NOTE THIS WITH SATISFACTION. HOWEVER, UP TO NOW NOTHING NEW HAD BEEN SAID ON THIS SUBJECT. GROMYKO COMMENTED THAT WHAT SEEMED TO BE TAKING PLACE WAS SOME SORT OF PREFERENCE FOR NATO SOLIDARITY OVER IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE USSR. HE ASKED WHETHER IT WAS JUSTIFIED TO PROVIDE CERTAIN WEST GERMAN CIRCLES WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN OUR TWO STATES. THE SOVIET ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION WAS A CLEAR NO. HE COULD ONLY REPEAT THAT THE SOVIET UNION STOOD FOR STRICTEST COMPLIANCE WITH THE QA, AND NO ONE SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO VIOLATE IT.

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4. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE US SIDE BELIEVED THAT EAST/WEST RELATIONS HAD BEEN IMPROVED BY THE BERLIN AGREEMENT, AND BY THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES. HE WANTED TO SEE THE BALANCE IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS THAT HAD BEEN DEVELOPED MAINTAINED. WE BELIEVED THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD AVOID DOING ANYTHING TO DISTURB THAT BALANCE. WE FURTHER BELIEVED THAT THE FOUR POWER STATUS APPLIED TO ALL OF BERLIN, NOT ONLY WEST BERLIN. THE SECRETARY THEN REFERRED TO RECENT GDR ACTIONS AIMED AT ATTEMPTING TO ALTER THE STATUS OF THE CITY, CITING THE VISA FEES, THE ROAD USE TAX, AND THE GDR STATEMENTS ON STATUS.

5. THE SECRETARY WENT ON TO POINT OUT THAT THE EC DOCUMENT THAT GROMYKO BROUGHT WITH HIM WAS DATED 1968, WHEREAS THE QA HAD BEEN CONCLUDED IN 1971. HE CONCLUDED THAT BOTH OUR COUNTRIES HAD TO SEE THAT THE QA WAS COMPLIED WITH IN FULL MEASURE BY ALL INTERESTED PARTIES. GROMYKO RESPONDED THAT THE SAME TYPE OF

DOCUMENT WAS BEING ISSUED TODAY AS WELL. HE ASKED THE SECRETARY TO TAKE NOTE OF THIS FACT. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WOULD DO SO, BUT HOPED THAT GROMYKO WOULD ALSO NOTE THE INSTANCES THAT THE SECRETARY HAD RAISED CONCERNING EAST BERLIN.

6. GROMYKO SAID THAT THERE WERE, OF COURSE, SOME QUESTIONS THAT THE WEST BERLIN AUTHORITIES WERE COMPETENT TO RESOLVE ON THE BASIS OF THE AUTHORITY THEY POSSESSED, AND WHICH DID NOT CONFLICT WITH THE QA. SIMILARLY, THERE WERE SOME QUESTIONS THAT COULD BE RESOLVED BY EAST BERLIN, THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR, WITHOUT COMING INTO CONFLICT WITH THE QA. THE SOVIETS DID NOT OBJECT TO SUCH ACTIONS, NOR SHOULD THE WESTERN POWERS OBJECT TO SUCH ACTIONS BY THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR. GROMYKO HOPED THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND THE SECRETARY PERSONALLY WOULD REFLECT ON WHETHER IT WAS REALLY WORTHWHILE TO PLAY INTO THE HANDS
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OF THOSE CIRCLES WHICH WISHED TO POISON RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE US OVER THE QUESTION OF WEST BERLIN. THE SOVIET UNION FAVORED COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QA. GROMYKO WELCOMED THE SECRETARY'S WORDS TO THE EFFECT THAT HE TOOK A SIMILAR STAND, BUT IT SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN PRACTICE. THE SECRETARY SAID THE US TOOK ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN BERLIN VERY SERIOUSLY, HAD GIVEN GREAT ATTENTION TO THE QA, AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO IN THE FUTURE. GROMYKO SAID THAT PRACTICE WOULD SHOW WHETHER THIS WAS INDEED THE CASE. THE SECRETARY CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION OF BERLIN BY SAYING THAT HE HOPED THE SAME WOULD APPLY TO EAST BERLIN.

7. FOR BONN: IN BRIEFING THE BONN GROUP, US REP SHOULD STRESS THE SENSITIVITY OF THIS EXCHANGE, AND ASK THAT ALL REPRESENTATIVES TREAT IT WITH A HIGH DEGREE OF CONFIDENTIALITY.

VANCE

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